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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this paper was to show what the author, a Sioux Indian, regards as the lack of a balanced perspective in history books dealing with the American Indian--in particular the Indian in Minnesota history. The procedure used examines several textbooks which present a derogatory or unfair picture of the Indian. The paper includes suggestions which are intended to eliminate some of the cultural narrowmindedness of many historians and educators. The 2 textbooks singled out for closest examination were "Minnesota: Star of the North" (1961) by Antoinette E. Ford and Neoma Johnson, and "Building Minnesota" (1938) by Theodore C. Blegen. (LS)

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AN UNBALANCED PERSPECTIVE: TWO MINNESOTA TEXTBOOKS EXAMINED BY AN AMERICAN INDIAN

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PREFACE

Much concern has been voiced by Indian Americans about the Indian image which is projected to the general American public through the media and, especially, through textbooks. Non-Indians who are not very familiar with the history of Indian-white relations may not understand why such concern is so intense. Mr. Cavender, who was formerly a public school teacher and Director of the Minneapolis Indian Upward Bound Program, and is now an Admissions Associate at the University of Minnesota, examines the perspective of textbook writers in a manner which is direct and deeply-felt. It is our hope that his statement will not only serve as a critique of textbook composition but also will add to the depth of understanding needed to build a contemporary acceptance of cultural differences in America.

The Editors

Richard G. Woods
Arthur M. Harkins

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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this paper is to show what I regard as the lack of a balanced perspective in history books dealing with the American Indian -- in particular the Indian in Minnesota history. This lack of a balanced perspective tends not only to sustain but also to strengthen stereotypes held by the non-Indian. This paper is also a mechanism by which I can express my own reactions -- reactions of disgust, anger, resentment, etc., which I have felt when I have read such culturally biased material. Such reactions, I suspect, have been shared by many other Indians as well.

There are minor purposes of this paper as well. For example, I hope to include suggestions which would help to eliminate some of the cultural narrow-mindedness of many historians and educators. Also, I will include personal accounts of some of my ancestors who were involved in the Sioux War of 1862, to show that there is more than one way of looking at a historical event or situation.

If the reader suspects that the writer is somewhat biased at time, his suspicions are entirely correct. Since I am a Dakota (or Sioux) by heritage, many of my comments will be concerned with things Dakota. I will be using the terms Indian, Dakota, or Sioux synonymously unless otherwise specified.

The procedure that I intend to use will begin with general comments about incidents and certain historians' statements concerning American Indians. I will discuss how such terms as "hero," "traitor," "massacre," etc., are relative terms, depending on the point of view, and how such terms presently reflect the non-Indian standpoint. Then, I will focus upon Minnesota history, and in particular the Sioux War of 1862, referring to two books about Minnesota history quite frequently. Included in this paper will be a discussion of the "atrocity stories" which generally talk about only the Indians' horrible deeds. I will demonstrate that white men were equally capable of atrocities.

One of the ways in which I am hoping to illustrate what I regard as the lack of a balanced perspective is to examine several textbooks which present a derogatory or unfair picture of the Indian. These textbooks have been and still are in many cases being used in the public schools throughout Minnesota. The two textbooks in question are Minnesota: Star of the North (1961) by Antoinette E. Ford and Neoma Johnson, and Building Minnesota (1938) by Theodore C. Blegen.

My comments about these two books are to be regarded in no way as a definitive or exhaustive criticism or analysis, but simply as an illustration of the main point of this paper. Once again, I wish to remind the reader of the main purpose -- to show the lack of a balanced perspective in history books dealing with American Indians.

GENERAL COMMENTS

To illustrate the thesis that there is a lack of a balanced perspective in history books dealing with the American Indian, I referred to several textbooks which were used in my college American History courses. One such textbook was The United States Since 1865 (1959) by Foster Rhea Dulles.

It is interesting to note that in the 531 pages of this book, American Indians are considered important enough to have four full pages devoted to them. It is of further interest to observe that the title of the section concerned with Indians is "The Indian Menace." One statement in this section says, "As the railroads reached out across the prairies, the construction gang grew accustomed whenever an alarm was sounded to throwing down their picks and shovels and seizing their rifles. They were never entirely safe from savage attack."[1] The terms "menace" and "savage" reflect a viewpoint which is entirely consistent with that of most historians and consonant with the treatment accorded to Indians in history. Too many times (I won't say all the time, because somewhere I believe there are objective historians) the Indian is presented as "savage," "a barbarian," "a fiend," and in other such negative terms. The Indian is seen as sub-human, perhaps a step above the other animals. In some cases he is considered even in a worse way: he is considered to be an impediment to be gotten rid of immediately if not sooner. This is easily seen when one considers once again the title "The Indian Menace." Also, this is quite evident when one reads Folwell's second volume of A History of Minnesota (1961). Here, there are five chapters on the Indian. These are concerned with the Sioux War of 1862, in which the Indian is seen as an obstacle, a hindrance to "civilization."

Another textbook used in college courses was A History of the United States Since 1865 (1959) by Williams, Current, and Freidel. Out of 710 pages, approximately ten full pages are devoted to American Indians. The title of this section is "The Taming of the Tribes." Here again the use of the word "taming" implies that Indians are animals, like cows or dogs, to be domesticated. Over seven of the pages deal with the Indian wars. "A summary review of the principal

Indian wars will suffice to illustrate the almost incessant conflict on the frontier from the sixties to the eighties."[2] This fact indicates the cultural bias of these three historians. They regard the Indian as an impediment. In fact, they state this quite plainly in another of their textbooks, "Yet one of the Indians' greatest influences on American civilization was negative rather than positive. Despite their kindly aid to the first European rivals, the Indian became an obstacle to the advance of white settlement, and life on the frontier derived many of its peculiarly 'American' qualities from the Indian danger and the Indian wars."[3] Note that in this statement the Indian is considered apart from "American Civilization." Apparently what the writers regard as "peculiarly 'American' qualities" applies only to the white settlers on the frontier. The following statement is particularly offensive to Indian people: "The white man, when he arrived in America, had much to learn from the Indian, but the Indian had far more to learn from the white man."[4] My immediate reaction to this is, "like what, for example?" The Indian was content with his way of life. Has this present American society, with its individual striving for success, with its materialistic emphasis, produced happy people? Another gem of these writers is, "Even the most brilliant of the native cultures, such as the Mayan, were stunted in comparison with the growing civilization of Europe."[5] By whose judgment? By the judgment of the white, middle-class historians who write the books.

One of the gravest errors that are committed by historians is the belief that American history began in 1492 with Columbus' arrival on the North American continent. As David C. Bolin says, "This seemingly innocent lesson, usually encountered in kindergarten or first grade, is, in fact, charged with a cultural bias so monstrous and pervasive, yet so well disguised, that neither the student nor the teacher is inclined or equipped to challenge it."[6] Williams, Current, and Freidel are guilty of this error. Their first section in their American History textbook is entitled "Europe and the New World." As far as they are concerned, there is no American history before 1492. It begins in Europe.

Bolin has other noteworthy things to say, so I will quote him freely. "An entrenched cultural and racial bias, combined with an infinite delight in writing and learning about ourselves, has allowed historians to ignore what should be a major branch of history; the history of the continent of North America." In another comment he states, "American history from the 16th century to the present should be taught as the most recent, rather than the only, development in the history of North America."7

In the textbooks that I have mentioned, nowhere are the accomplishments and contributions of Indians to the development of the United States mentioned. This again is another very serious error. Yet the virtues and accomplishments of white America are mentioned in superabundance, illustrating the truth that historians take "infinite delight" in writing about themselves.

Narrowing the focus from American History to Minnesota History, I would like to make a few observations. Minnesota is a state that is rich in Indian culture and heritage. This is a fact which could be emphasized more by people who want to write Minnesota history. Minnesota itself is an Indian name. "Mini" in Dakota means water and "sota" refers to clouds or cloudy; thus, Minnesota in a poetic sense means "sky-blue waters." Minneapolis is a combination of Dakota and Greek -- "Mini," which means water in Dakota, and "polis," which means city in Greek; hence, Minneapolis is literally the water-city, or, more poetically, the "city of lakes." There are other famous Minnesota towns and rivers which are Indian or Indian in origin. For example, the town Shakopee is the name of a famous Sioux chief, and also means the number "six" in the Dakota. Mankato means "blue earth" and also is the name of a Sioux chief. Anoka means "on both sides." Owatonna in Dakota means "straight." Winona refers to the eldest daughter. Chaska refers to the first boy born. A river besides the Minnesota that is Indian in origin is the Yellow Medicine River -- "pezuta," which means medicine, and "zizi," which means yellow. These are but a few of the many place names in Minnesota which reflect the Indian heritage.

In addition to the Dakota, there is a rich body of Chippewa culture, especially in northern Minnesota, that should be included in any writing about Minnesota history. Too many times the roles and contributions of the Dakota and Chippewa nations to the development of Minnesota as a state are not adequately or accurately represented in the textbooks on history.

RELATIVE TERMS

Words such as "hero," "traitor," "victory," and "massacre" are relative terms, depending on one's point of view. Since most of the present textbooks dealing with American history or Minnesota history are written by white historians, these and other such terms have been used to portray the Indian in an unfavorable light. Thus, there is lacking a balanced perspective. However, I would like to show another point of view -- how an Indian might use such terms.

Nathan Hale is considered a patriot and a martyr in American history, and rightly so. He was a man who was loyal to his people and country -- a man who said "I regret I have but one life to lose for my country" and thus died a martyr's death. The 38 Sioux who were hanged at Mankato also were patriots. They had fought for their land. They fought because of the many injustices which had been wrought upon their people. Medicine Bottle and Shakopee, two Sioux chiefs, also died for the cause of their people. They were executed by hanging at Fort Snelling on November 11, 1865.

In the history books the term "renegade" is applied to Simon Girty, and the term "traitor" is applied to Benedict Arnold, and understandably so. These men turned against their own people and worked actively in the best interests of the enemy. John Other Day, a Sioux Indian who lived near the Yellow Medicine Agency, led 62 white people to safety at the time of the beginning of the Sioux War of 1862. Here is what one history book says: "And here is a portrait of that good Indian, John Other Day, who saved the lives of many white people during the dreadful Sioux Massacre."[8] To some historians a good Indian is a dead Indian. To this one, a good Indian is an Indian who turns against his own people and helps white people. To me, John Other Day was a traitor.

"Hero" is another term which is often applied only to white people in the history books. However, I would like to suggest some Indian heroes. Little Crow (Kangicistina) was a chief of the Mdewakonton (Spirit Lake) Sioux. Though he had been east and had seen many settlements of the wasicun (white men), though he knew the white men were as many as "The locusts when they fly so

thick that the whole sky is a snowstorm,"[9] though he knew he would be fighting against overwhelming odds, he still led the Dakota in the defense of their homeland, against the dishonesty, injustice, and greed of the encroaching white man. Big Eagle (Wanmdi Tanka), another Sioux chief, also "had been to Washington and...knew the power of the whites, and that they would finally conquer us."[10] These men knew that they might win a battle or two, but would lose the war, and yet they fought. These men demonstrated courage and have the right to be called heroes.

The term "massacre" is used by many historians in a peculiar manner. If the white man wins a battle, it is a glorious victory. If the Indian wins, it is a massacre. Let us look at this term from another perspective. Two incidents from history will illustrate.

In 1863, Black Kettle led a friendly band of Cheyenne and Arapaho in to Fort Lyon on Sand Creek. This had been done at the request of the governor of Colorado. Black Kettle understood he was under official protection. Nevertheless, Colonel J. M. Chivington, leading the Colorado militia, treacherously attacked the unsuspecting camp in an onslaught that spared neither men, women, nor children. One white witness later testified of the fate of these Indians, "They were scalped. Their brains were knocked out; the men used their knives, ripped open women, clubbed little children, knocked them in the head with their guns, beat their brains out, mutilated their bodies in every sense of the word."[11] Some of the soldiers had cut off the breasts of the Indian women and had made skin pouches. Later these same men in Denver saloons would brag of their exploits and show off their trophies. This clearly indicates that white American soldiers are capable of committing atrocities.

At Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890, another tragedy, another massacre occurred. Chief Big Foot and his band of Sioux men, women, and children had been apprehended by the U. S. Seventh Cavalry, and brought into Wounded Knee. The Indians were tired, hungry, cold, and some were sick, including Big Foot. It is reported that there was drunkenness in the cavalry camp. Though no one knows who fired the first shot, a deadly rifle fire broke out. Then the Hotchkiss guns opened up and no mercy was shown the Indians. The firing ceased

when the targets were either down or they were beyond range. "A ghostly hush slowly crept over a field of the dead and dying. Only the mournful whine of a freezing north-wester, the chilling heartcry of a baby still clinging to the breasts of its mother who was beyond hearing, for she, too, was numbered among the dead, were the only sounds to break the numbness of the spell."[12] Approximately 120 men, women, and children were slaughtered and stacked into one long mass grave.

These things are not usually mentioned in grade school or high school textbooks because they run counter to the nationalistic pride and patriotism of the white historians and students. Only the savage Indians, the enemies, perform such horrible deeds. It would not be in the best interests of the American philosophy of education if white students were taught that in the 19th century the white soldiers "often excelled in the use of barbaric torture, brutality, and slaughter in their encounters with Indians."[13]

COMMENTS ON BUILDING MINNESOTA

One of the textbooks on Minnesota history that is presently and frequently being used in classrooms throughout Minnesota is Theodore C. Blegen's Building Minnesota. What I am about to present are some personal reactions, criticisms, questions, and suggestions concerning this particular textbook.

I noted with great interest the statement made by Edgar B. Wesley in the "Introduction." He states that a book dealing with the people of a state should possess several outstanding characteristics, and one of these is "The book should be free from partisan bias or social prejudices."[14] He goes on to say that he believed the author of this text had measured up to this standard. I do not think I believe that. However, keep this in mind.

In Blegen's opening chapter titled "Woods and Waters Fair," which is nine pages long, Indians are mentioned twice. In the first instance waterways are the main topic of the paragraph and Indians are mentioned as knowing the Minnesota system of rivers and lakes. In the second instance, Indians accept geographic conditions as they are. However, in the rest of that paragraph and the rest of the chapter, white people are discussed. In his text, Blegen makes what I regard as a very profound observation. He says, "The truth is simply that the Indian was human."[15] Many historians have not yet learned this truth.

I now want to concentrate on Chapter 23, "The Sioux Go on the Warpath." In this chapter Blegen is guilty of omissions. The settlers at Acton have been killed, and the chiefs and followers are deciding what to do. It would be helpful at this point to include excerpts from the speeches of various chiefs at this council, especially the speeches of Little Crow and Big Thunder. It would be helpful for the reader to know that the Indians knew they were at a tremendous disadvantage, that they knew the white man possessed an overwhelming superiority in numbers and weaponry. It would be helpful for the reader to know that the Indians reacted to injustice, dishonesty, greed, oppression, and prejudice as any other people would react to these things. So they fought. These Dakota were a brave and proud people.

On Page 210, Blegen finally does quote an Indian. Big Eagle, in talking about the attack on the white centers of Fort Ridgely and New Ulm, says, "We thought the fort was the door to the valley as far as to St. Paul, and if we got through the door nothing would stop us this side of the Mississippi. But the defenders of the fort were very brave and kept the door shut."[16] This is noteworthy, because when Blegen does quote an Indian, he does so to compliment white people.

Of course the same relative terms which speak favorably of white people and point negatively to the Indians appear in this textbook as well. Blegen uses the term atrocities and it is "Indian atrocities" naturally. The term "heroine" is used and this applies to a Norwegian, a white woman. Blegen does not mention white atrocities. Blegen does not name any Indian heroes. The hanging of Chief Shakopee is referred to; however, Blegen does not describe this Indian as a brave man, as a patriot who fought for his country, or as a martyr who died for what he believed. I suppose this task will have to be done by an Indian historian.

One last comment upon this particular chapter. A statement by Blegen reads thus: "We must remember that the Sioux were not civilized people."[17] This is perhaps the crowning insult to the Indian people in the whole book. No other statement reflects Blegen's cultural bias or his racist attitudes more than this statement.

In conclusion, there are many more statements which could be mentioned that speak derogatorily of the Indian. There are serious omissions, things which Blegen could have mentioned to present the Indian as human, as people. In 510 pages, Blegen does devote one whole paragraph to the contributions of the Indians to American civilization. It is interesting to note that in this particular paragraph, it is not "American civilization" but "our own civilization."

Thus it is very obvious that Blegen does not possess a balanced perspective in his treatment of Indians.

COMMENTS ON MINNESOTA: STAR OF THE NORTH

Perhaps one of the most biased textbooks of all dealing with Minnesota history and Minnesota Indians is Minnesota: Star of the North by Antoinette E. Ford and Neoma Johnson. No other authors (and I hate to demean this term) display a more patronizing, a more superior, a more condescending attitude toward Indians than the authors of this particular textbook.

Let me illustrate how one group of Indians have reacted to this book. An Indian educational group, the Indian Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis Public Schools, requested the Minneapolis Public Schools to stop using this textbook because it presents such a derogatory picture of the Indian. During the academic year 1968-69, the Minneapolis Public Schools responded in a favorable manner, and removed all copies of this text from the public schools' libraries and classrooms.

Why did the Indian Advisory Committee ask for the removal of this book from all libraries and classrooms of the Minneapolis Public Schools? What is in this book that is so repugnant to Indians? A few of the many examples of bias will serve to enlighten the reader of this paper.

The introduction of this book is entitled "Minnesota, Hail to Thee!" In this introduction the authors dwell at length upon the rich resources of Minnesota -- the precious furs, the vast forests, the mineral treasures, the beautiful scenery, etc. Then the authors make this statement, "However, the most important of Minnesota's resources is not the rich farm land, the minerals, or the forests. It is the people themselves..."[18] The Indian reader would think that of all the places where Indians could be mentioned, this would be the most logical or natural place to mention the first inhabitants, the Indians. However, no mention is made of Indians in this paragraph or in the entire introduction. This is an omission of the gravest sort. One can ask the question and ask it legitimately, do the authors consider Indians to be Minnesota's people?

In another place in the introduction, the customs of the Old World are referred to: "Happily some of the Old World folk songs, dances, games and holiday customs have been kept alive to give charm and color to many a social gathering and celebration in their American homes."[19] I find this statement rather ironic. For these white people from Europe to keep some of their customs, values, or part of their culture is regarded as positive in this statement. However, for an Indian to keep his language, to keep part of his customs, to dress in traditional garb, etc., is a trend not to be allowed. I consider the above statement to be ironic because for many years it was a high priority aim in government policy for Indians to assimilate into the dominant society. In some of the government schools, Indians could not speak their native tongue, could not dress in the traditional manner, could not act "Indian" -- and if they did so, they were punished severely. Could not Indian songs, dances, games and customs have added charm and color to the American scene?

The authors, at the close of the introduction, address a question to the readers of their textbooks: "Do you not feel proud of being citizens of Minnesota?"[20] How do the authors, after not mentioning Indians at all in the introduction, expect Indian readers to react to such a question? If the reader is white, then maybe he can be proud. Yet Indians definitely can be proud to be citizens, because Minnesota was and is their land.

On Page 26 is found this statement: "Although one might tell of the cruelty of the Indians, you can see from this account that there is also much that is pleasant and interesting to learn of our red brother."[21] The authors later do tell of the horrible deeds of the "savages." However, this particular statement raises a topic which I would like to discuss in more detail -- a topic which is directly related to the cultural bias found in this book. Much has been written about the Sioux War of 1862 and a body of literature has emerged which is known as the "atrocity stories." What is extremely repugnant about these stories is that the atrocities are committed by Indians only. The underlying assumption of these atrocity stories, and it is a loathsome assumption, is that Indians are savages and white people cannot perform horrible deeds in war. I would like to recount two incidents which involve two of my ancestors

and which clearly illustrate the cruelty of white soldiers. (See the attached family tree for point of reference).

My great-great-grandfather was a Dakota chief, whose name was Mazo-Mani or Iron that Walks. He was one of the chiefs who signed the Treaty of 1830. The first incident involves him. Soon after the Battle of Wood Lake, many Indians were tired of the war and did not wish to fight any more. Mazo-Mani was one such person, and after a council he was appointed to deliver a letter asking for a truce to the white soldiers. On the way to the white camp, he and others who accompanied him met some white soldiers. Even though Mazo-Mani carried a white flag, one of the white soldiers flagrantly disregarded the symbol of truce and treacherously shot him. Mazo-Mani did not die then but was brought back to camp and died during the night. My great-grandmother would cry when she told of such things.

The other incident involves my great-grandmother when she was ten years old. Her name was Maza-Okiye Win or She Who Talks to Iron (her English name was Isabelle Roberts). She witnessed the killing of her grandmother. In the aftermath of the Sioux War of 1862, the feeling against the Sioux by the white people was so great that the Indians were forced to move from Minnesota. It was on the trip to Crow Creek in South Dakota that this incident occurred.

The killing took place on a bridge. The horses and other stock were very thirsty, and began to stir, so everyone stopped in order that the stock might drink. Maza-Okiye Win and her grandmother got out of the wagon in which they were riding. When the animals stirred, several soldiers came running to the scene and demanded to know what was going on. Since the Indians could not speak English, this irritated the soldiers, and they began to get rough and push the Indian women. The soldiers succeeded in pushing the grandmother off the bridge and into the water. The daughter and granddaughter (Maza-Okiye Win) ran down to the water and pulled the grandmother out. When they climbed up to the road, their wagon was gone. They decided to find a place that might be warm for the grandmother and safe from the soldiers. However, before they could get away, white soldiers caught up to them and one of them cruelly stabbed the grandmother in the stomach with a saber. She screamed in pain. The daughter stooped down

to help her, but the older woman said, "Please daughter, go! Don't mind me. Take your daughter and go before they do the same thing to you."[22] Though this grandmother was in pain and dying, she was still concerned about her daughter and little granddaughter (Maza-Okiye Win) who was standing there and had witnessed all this.

These atrocities that I have described were committed by white soldiers. Such stories, however, are not mentioned in the textbooks, because they would destroy the myth that white people can do no wrong. My mother says, "Everyone in this day and age believes that in those days the Indian was a ruthless killer, but we know according to these accounts that some of the whites are just as ruthless and more so than the Indian. If one would stop and think, our people were fighting for what was rightfully theirs."[23]

The chapter which is perhaps the most offensive to Indians is the chapter entitled "The War with the Sioux." In this chapter Indians are referred to as "lazy," as "thieves," as "heathens," and almost constantly as "savages." The cultural bias of the authors is apparent to a revolting degree. Here are some obvious and obnoxious examples (Italics are the author's): "When you remember that for many years these savages had roamed the woods and plains." (page 157) "Always lazy, the Indians depended on the food and clothing, as well as money, supplied by the government according to the terms of the treaties." (Page 157) "This last fort protected the trades carried on by the Red River carts against bands of thieving Indians." (Page 158) "...for the savages were frantic with rage." (Page 160) "At heart Little Crow was a heathen Indian." (Page 161) This statement is particularly offensive to me, because generally the Dakota were a deeply religious people. "The savages were again repulsed, discouraged by the fire from the barricade." (Page 166). By now, it should be quite evident to the reader that these authors are by no means objective.

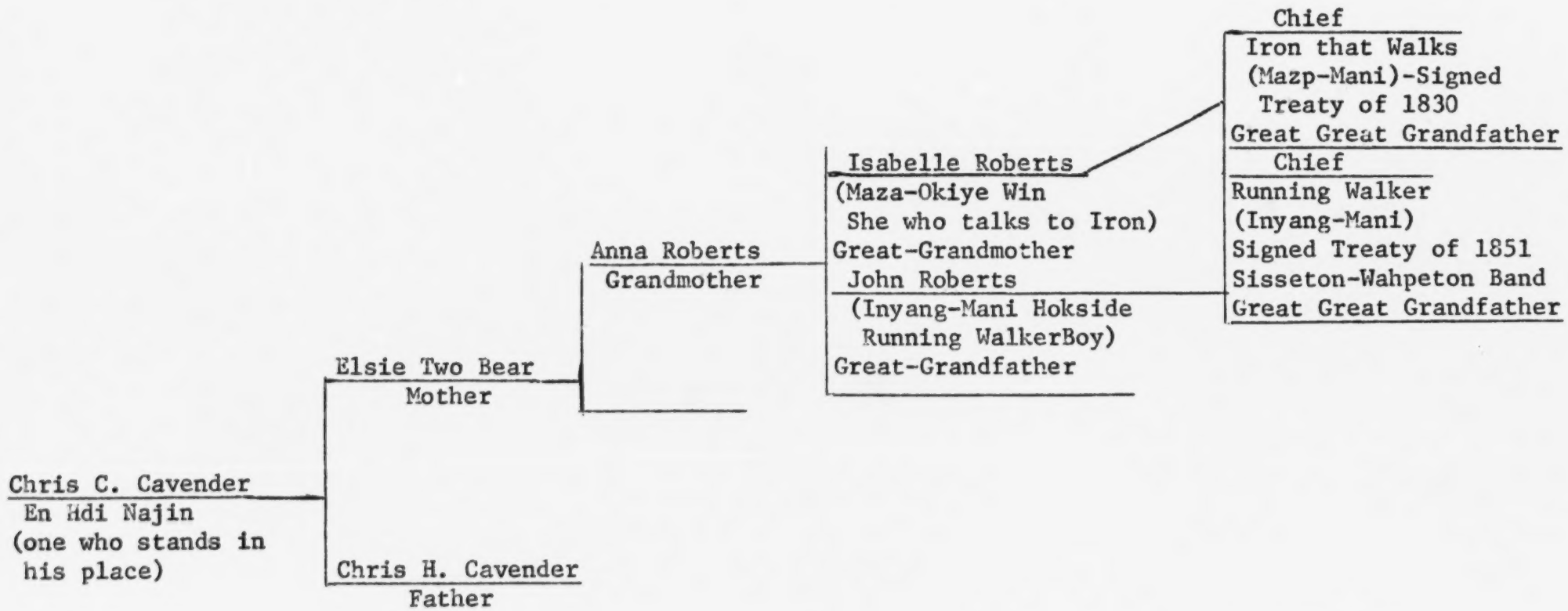
In general the same criticisms that were leveled at Blegen can be directed at these authors. For example, the obvious attitude of racial superiority, the failure to mention Indian heroes, the failure to mention white atrocities, the omission of the Indians' role in the development of Minnesota as a state, and

the omission o or slight attention to the Indian contributions to American society are q e apparent in this text. Of all textbooks, this by far demonstrates most c rly the thesis that most history books dealing with American Indians lack a lanced perspective.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have attempted to show that too many history books dealing with the American Indian do so inadequately. The pictures which they present of the Indian are negative and derogatory. In many cases, images which are held by the white people of the Indian are further confirmed when history books insist on using such general terms as "lazy,""savage," "heathen," and "drunken" in characterizing the Indian. I agree with David C. Bolin when he says, "The truth is that many historians and educators have to be shaken and jolted out of academic amnesia and cultural narrowmindedness."[24] Only when historians are "shaken and jolted" can a balanced perspective of history dealing with American Indians be achieved.

FAMILY TREE OF CHRIS C. CAVENDER JR.



FOOTNOTES

1. Dulles, Foster Rhea, "The Indian Menace," The United States Since 1865, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 40.

2. Williams, T. Harry, Richard N. Current and Frank Freidel, "The Taming of the Tribes," A History of the United States Since 1865. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 155

3. Ibid., p. 7

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Bolin, David C. "North America: The Blind Spot in History," Random, (November, 1969), pp. 26-27.

7. Ibid., p. 26.

8. Ford, Antoinette E. ANd Neoma Johnson, "Henry Hastings Sibley," in Minnesota: Star of the North. (Chicago: Lyons and Carnahan, 1961), p. 112

9. Anonymous, "Tacyateduta is not a Coward," Minnesota History, (September, 1962), p. 115

10. Anonymous,"Chief Big Eagle's Story," Minnesota History, (September, 1962), p. 115.

11. Dulles, Op. Cit., p. 41

12. Excerpt from a brochure "Wounded Knee National Historical Site", printed by the Wounded Knee Museum of Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

13. Bolin, Op. Cit., p. 27

14. Blegen, Theodore C., "Introduction," Building Minnesota. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1938), p. iii.

15. Ibid., p. 23

16. Ibid., p. 210

17. Ibid., p. 217.

18. Ford and Johnson, Op. Cit., p. 4.

19. Ibid., p. 6

20. Ibid., p. 6

21. Ibid., p. 26

22. Cavender, Elsie M., personal correspondence, (1969), p. 2.

23. Ibid., p. 4.

24. Bolin, Op. Cit., p. 27.

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